681 on his back and half on the belly. This type of punishment is particularly horrible because the recipient is often so maltreated by it that his entrails hang out.

697 The manner in which those sentenced to a longer or shorter prison term must serve their sentence is quite distinctive. In Baysun in 1886 on the occasion of a visit to the Beg, I encountered on a terrace inside the fortress gate six individuals who had undergone the bastonnade the day before at the bazaar. They were accused of stealing and had been sentenced by the Beg to the bastonnade and six months imprisonment. Those under sentence were obliged to spend the entire period of their confinement here on this terrace, under the open sky, during which time the beg did not trouble himself about their maintenance or their guard. The feeding and shelter and the guarding of the prisoners was left to their closest relatives, who pledged with their persons and their property that the prisoners would make no break for freedom. The relatives were thereby forced to remain day and night beside those under arrest to prevent them from escaping. This is by all means the simplest, cheapest and most secure means for the state to dispose of its prisoners under sentence.

Horrible is the fate of those under dungeon sentence for various periods or for life. The native prisons, called zindans, are simple, dark, underground holes in the ground, six to twelve meters deep, which are narrow at the top like a bottle, and are closed over the top with a wooden lid. These prisons make any attempt at escape impossible, and at the same time make it unnecessary to keep a large staff of custodians. The prisoners are lowered into these prisons on ropes, as is the drinking water and the food which is brought them by compassionate souls. These are just the same sort of pits as those used for the storage of grain, and often they simply use empty underground storage rooms and deep dried-up wells as prisons. Anything more horrible than staying in such dungeons would be hard to imagine, and any manner of death would be a kindness compared with the life of such prisoners. These people are provided by the state neither with food not with drink, and if they have no relatives to feed them they are thrown entirely upon the charity of the public, which however, for reasons readily understood, avoids whenever possible such places of horror. It must not have been at all unusual in earlier times for the /214/ prisoners to eat the bodies of their deceased companions in misfortune from sheer hunger. Since the prisons have no ventilation at all, and the excrement of the prisoners and even the bodies of the dead are never removed, one can imagine what odors must collect in such

places, where upward of a dozen people are crammed together, whose 697
smell alone in the great heat would be unbearable. Over and above this, the unfortunates are tormented by an enormous number of bugs, ticks, lice, rats and every other sort of vermin, which in such a favorable and fertile medium, multiply to an unbelievable extent. The inmates of these terrible martyr cells are not always real criminals; the majority is completely innocent, brought here by the whims of the ruler and the intrigues of political enemies, and they are often completely forgotten, and must then breathe their last in this kind of hideous surrounding. The two English travelers, Stoddard and Connolly, who were executed by the Emir Nasr Allah in 1842, must have languished in such prisons in the town of Bukhara before they were executed. The Russians have naturally cleaned out such horrors within their possessions, and use all their influence to make the conditions more humane in the states of Central Asia which are still independent; whether they are successful, no one is in a position to know.

Mutilations must have been employed rather frequently in earlier 681
times in Turkestan as legal punishment, judging by the large number 685
of persons one still saw in my time going about as beggars, with missing noses, hands, or even feet. These punishments were usually applied to thieves, whom they wished to render harmless or at least to single out in this fashion. For this reason most of those punished in this manner are Kazakhs, who see nothing wrong in stealing, but on the contrary consider it an honorable sport. The sedentary population fails to see the joke in this respect. The thieves had their hands cut off at the wrists, the feet were cut off at the ankles, but the noses were cut off as smoothly as though they had never had them. The ears of those who had already been legally punished once or more were slit or cut off as well, depending on the circumstances, and this kind of mutilation formed a kind of penalty list for those concerned in any sort of later conflicts with the law.

Death sentences were employed very often in the Central Asian 681
states, just as in Bukhara until the most recent times theft, adultery, 661
prostitution, and even the use of wine was punishable by death. But the greatest number of victims were always provided by the whim and suspicion /215/ of the rulers, who believed they could strengthen their thrones only by means of cruelty and the destruction of all individuals who were in any way suspicious. One may see from the example of the last Khan of Kokand to what extremes many khans went in this respect. He once ordered 20,000 Kipchaks executed, simply from vexation be-

5: Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RLl Turkestan RLl

701 their ethnic separateness. For many a Muslim, entry into military service
177 represents the first contact with an alien nationality. The Muslim recruit is
563 expected at once to understand Russian commands, even though he is often completely ignorant of Russian. This linguistic difficulty, coupled with the general ineptitude of most Central Asian Muslims for army life (due to the exemption granted them in tsarist days), makes military service for many a shocking and bewildering experience. Sooner or later, however, most Muslims, except the dullest or most recalcitrant, learn enough Russian to get along and communicate with their Russian superiors and comrades. Several of the refugees stated that they had first learned Russian in the army; for some others, the army was actually the first experience with life outside their own Muslim communities. On many recruits the effect of such an experience, though violent, is not long-lasting; having completed his military service, the recruit returns to his village and soon forgets most of what he has learned. For others, however, it constitutes a radical break which affects their entire life. The Red army represents the only Soviet institution — save for the forced labor camps — where Muslim and Russian societies are forcibly compressed together, and where the cultural and ethnic walls usually separating them are to some extent broken down.

• 697 Evidence obtained from refugees who had lived in Soviet concentration
563 camps and Nazi prisoner-of-war camps indicates that in conditions of great distress the ethnic barriers break down most rapidly, for in neither was there much separation between Muslims and Russians.[12] After an initial period of very harsh treatment by the Germans as "Asiatics," the Central Asians were separated out by the Germans under the influence of Turkestani émigré organizations and were formed into numerous small military units, commanded by Germans; these units served as military police and anti-partisan units and in some cases as front-line combat units.

178 An important factor in the demography of Central Asia is the settlement
162 of the nomadic and seminomadic populations of the steppe and desert regions. The abandonment of nomadic habits had begun long before the Revolution; one of the main themes in the entire history of the Turkic tribes since their appearance in Central Asia and the Middle East a thousand years ago is the gradual transition from pure nomadism to a settled existence. This process was in part caused by the encroachment of agricultural peoples of neighboring territories upon the extensive nomadic lands, with the resultant shrinkage of grazing areas, and in part by the economic advantages to be derived from a combination of cattle and sheep

697 563 [12] More recent evidence, however, indicates that this has not been the case in Soviet forced labor camps since World War II. Repatriated inmates of Vorkuta, one of the largest Soviet forced labor camps, indicate that national differences are very prominent in the camp, and the prisoners tend to group strictly along national or religious lines. See, for instance, J. Scholmer, *Vorkuta* (New York, 1955). It is not certain whether this contradiction is due to some unknown factors operating in post-World War II camps, or whether there is no clear-cut pattern permitting generalization on this subject.